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423 622 [422] primary right to it, not because it was regarded as owning the land itself, but by reason of prior occupation and use. The individual owned his house, his plantations of taro and paper mulberry, his breadfruit, coconut and banana trees, and the pigs and chickens that ran about his house. Land which no one had occupied or used was free.

Stewart's account of the information he received on Nuku Hiva would indicate a more formal institution of private ownership than I was led to believe existed. He says (26, p. 253):

> All the land, with the growth upon it, is hereditarily possessed by the higher orders, civil and religious, the chiefs, warriors, prophets, priests, and their assistants, the boundaries of the respective domains of each being accurately defined and well known.

The account of several incidents that occurred in the valley of Atu Ona on Hiva Oa, given to me by Mr. Linton, furnishes some of the best evidence I have of the absolute ownership of property by chiefs and the ability on the part of a chief to do with land what pleased him:

> A chief named Punitoa owned the foot of Atu Ona valley and the *tohua* [feast place] of Pekia. It was necessary for the up-valley people to ask his permission when they wanted to fish. Two pregnant women who lived at the head of the valley asked their husbands to get a certain kind of small fish for them. One of the husbands went down to the sea by way of Caledonia point, avoiding the village and not asking the chief's permission. The other went to the chief's house and, it being the middle of the night, awakened him to ask permission to fish, explaining the circumstances. The chief was so pleased at the courtesy that he said: "Bring your wife here and I will give the child all my land." Pekia thus became the property of the child.
>
> Pekia at one time belonged to a chief named Puatautau. The chief was an old man, and his two sons neglected him. They would go fishing and not bring him anything when they got back, giving it all to the young women. There was a poor man in the valley who used to bring the chief food regularly, giving him the best he had. At last one day, the chief said to him: "Tomorrow morning early dress in your best clothes and come to Puatahi." (Apparently the name of the *paepae* of the chief's house, connected with the *tohua*.) The commoner did as he was told and came at dawn. The chief had climbed to Pou Au, and from there he called to the commoner: "Come up a little." The commoner climbed for a while and slipped. The chief called again: "Come up a little. Come up until I can see you." The commoner then climbed until the chief could see him. Then the chief said: "From here to the sea is *Topekia* (name of the chief's head). I give it all to you." The chief then left and went to Hana Menu. His sons, who had been disowned, were very angry and went to see him, asking him why he had given the land away. The ex-chief said he had given it as *ka'oha* (gift) for the food the commoner had given him day after day. After that the poor man was chief, and the former chief's sons were commoners. A similar incident is said to have happened in Hana Menu.

[764] An incident in the legend of Ono furnishes evidence that the skullpit, which was the central feature of the *me'ae* of the chief, the depository of

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merely a survival of the use of a sign, respect for which is based on the more recent conception of property rights, which has come with the white man.

Melville (23, p. 252) unwittingly gives us examples of the use of *kahui* in Tai-pi:

> Frequently in walking through the groves I observed breadfruit and coconut trees, with a wreath of leaves twined in a peculiar fashion about their trunks. This was the mark of the taboo. The trees themselves, their fruit, and even the shadows they cast upon the ground, were consecrated by its presence. In the same way a pipe, which the king has bestowed upon me, was rendered sacred in the eyes of the natives, none of whom could I ever prevail upon to smoke from it. The bowl was encircled by a woven band of grass, somewhat resembling those Turks' head occasionally worked in the handles of our whip-stalks. A similar badge was once braided about my wrist by the royal hand of Mehevi himself, who, as soon as he had concluded the operation, pronounced me "Taboo."

It is correct to apply the word *tapu* to those things restricted by means of a *kahui*. *Kahui* may be defined as a particular kind of *tapu* applied to property and enforced by artificial means.

The use of sacred names in establishing the right to property is discussed in connection with Names and Naming.

Personal Property

Ornaments, clothing, weapons, utensils, canoes, and houses were regarded as personal property and were privately owned by individuals and families. Houses were regarded more as family than as individual property; and even some ornaments, such as the tortoise-shell crown, seem to have been family rather than individual possessions.

THE FAMILY AND THE INDIVIDUAL

THE DWELLING AND ADJUNCTS

The establishment of a well-to-do family in the Marquesas consisted of a large sleeping house, a house that served as a *tapu* eating house for men and at the same time as a storehouse, a cooking house, and a sacred place where family rites were performed. The sleeping houses, like canoes, spears, and all other important possessions, were named. Early visitors speak of the neatness of the precincts about the houses and of the living arrangements (13, p. 28; 22, p. 127), but today they are, almost without exception, slovenly. As many as five or six related families lived in a single establishment (14, p. 113). Garcia (14, pp. 110, 112) speaks of the peace and harmony in which the members of the household, children and adults lived.

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attachment of separate pieces." "A small *tiki* figure was sometimes but not always attached to the tip of the stern piece." (20.)

Temporary decoration consisted of coconut leaves, white cloth, and human hair; and "coconut fronds, which were commonly placed along the sides of the bow and stern platforms with their lower edges trailing in the water" (20). On the canoe with the two platforms described above, Stewart (26, p. 219) observed three green coconut leaves four or five feet high, which were fastened erect on the bow piece. It is probable that these were symbols of peace. Lines were run from the stern piece to corners of the steersman's platform and from these lines hung tufts of human hair and bits of white cloth (26, pp. 220-1). Stewart (26, p. 304) describes skulls as being lashed on each corner of the platform at the stern of a war canoe. Under the lashings that held the outside binding strip along the gunwale were put white feathers of the tropic bird, so that the plumed ends were visible—these gave the appearance and impression of speed and, doubtless, in the native mind were potent to make actual in the canoe this quality of the tropic bird.

Crews

Modern informants say that the crews of large canoes numbered from one hundred and forty to one hundred and sixty men. Garcia ((14, p. 233), on the other hand, puts the number at forty or fifty. Legends commonly speak of a larger number and relate that, usually, in the Marquesas two hundred and eighty (*e fitu touha*—that is to say, seven forties) warriors constituted the crew of a war canoe or a voyaging canoe. The captain (*atua-ika*) had charge of the handling of both fishing and war canoes, and doubtless was usually, if not always, the steersman—his name indicating that he was a fisher by profession. The captain stood on the stern platform which was also the place of the chief. A large paddle (*kapekape, uki*) served for steering. In small canoes paddlers sat two on a seat, in large canoes four abreast, working in shifts, two by two. They paddled rythmically in unison (14, pp. 233-4).

While part of the crew was occupied in paddling, others were busy bailing.

Ownership of Canoes

The information given by modern natives led me to believe that a large canoe was always the property of the chief of the tribe. Porter, however, gives interesting evidence of parts of a single canoe being owned by different individuals. He says (24, p. 101):

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They are about fifty feet in length, two in width, and of a proportionate depth; they are formed of many pieces, and each piece, and indeed each paddle, has its separate proprietor. To one belongs the piece projecting from the stern, to another the part forming the bow. The pieces forming the sides belong to different persons, and when a canoe is taken to pieces, the whole is scattered throughout the valley, and divided, perhaps, among twenty families. Each has the right of disposing of the part belonging to him, and when she is to be set up, everyone brings his piece, with materials for securing it. The setting up a war canoe goes on with the same order and regularity as all their other operations. 422

It is evident that the parts of such canoes would be distributed in the houses of the various owners.

Housing

At Pua Ma'u I was told that war canoes were always taken to pieces when they were not in use. Here and at Atu Ona canoes were kept in special houses on the shore. At Atu Ona, the natives relate that a certain traditional canoe used to repose on two stone supports (*ano*) on the main dance place of the valley. One of these supports, a large block of basalt with a somewhat crescent-shaped concave top, is still on this dance area. 504

While on Ua Pou I learned that on that island the chief's war canoe was sometimes, if not always, carried on to the feast place before his house. It seems probable that it was the fishing canoes which were housed by the sea, and that the war canoes, which were more occasionally used, were those that were taken apart or that were kept in houses on the chief's dance area. Porter describes (24, p. 108) a place, which he calls the "public square," which he invaded far up Tai-pi Valley, and says:

Numbers of their gods were here destroyed, [and] several large and elegant new war canoes, which had never been used, were burnt in the houses that sheltered them.

MINOR INDUSTRIES

Tapa-Making

The finest bark cloth (*tapa*), called also *ute*, pure white in color, was made from the bark of the *ute*, or paper mulberry (*Broussonetia papyrifera*). *Ute* furnished all the white cloth used ceremonially. The planting and cultivation of this tree is described in connection with Planting. A rougher, white cloth (*kahu mei*)—the most commonly used—was made of the bark of young breadfruit trees (*mei, Artocarpus incisa*). The sacred cloth called *hiapo*, reddish brown in color—a natural color, not dyed—was made from the bark of the branches or roots of the *hiapo*, the name given the young banyan (*aoa*). Dordillon (8) gives *akatea* and *atea* as names of trees or bushes whose bark was used for *tapa*, while Jardin (15, p. 42) 237 324

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They denied positively having refused him a passage, and 648
strengthened their assertions with fresh supplies.

Some time after this I sent a messenger to the Typees to inquire if they wished to be at peace with us, and to say that we were strongly disposed to be at peace with all the tribes on the island; but that this disposition did not proceed from fear, as I had strength enough to drive their united forces into the sea; but if they were disposed to be at peace, I was willing to meet them on the same terms as the other tribes, and only required an exchange of presents as a proof of their friendly disposition. In reply, they required to know why they should desire a friendship with us, or why they should bring us hogs and fruit? If I was strong enough, they knew I would come and take them; that my not doing so was an acknowledgment of my weakness; and that it was time enough to think of parting with them when they could no longer keep their valley.

I now inquired of Gattanewa the number of war canoes which he could equip and man; he informed me ten, and that each would carry about thirty men, and that the Happahs could equip an equal number of equal size; he told me it would be six days before they could be put together and got in readiness; but if I wished it, his people should set about it immediately. I directed them to do so, and dispatched a messenger to the Happahs directing them to prepare their war canoes to be in readiness to go to war with the Typees, and await my further orders. I gave them as well as the Taeehs to understand, that it was my intention to attack them both by sea and by land, and that I should send a large body of men in boats, and a ship to protect the landing of them and the war canoes, and that the remainder of the warriors of both tribes must proceed by land to attack them in the part where they were most assailable. I had hoped now to terrify the Typees by the formidable armament which was coming against them, and was glad to fix on some distant period for the commencement of hostilities, anxious to put them off as long as possible.

The war canoes of this island differ not much from those al- 501
ready described as belonging to the natives of the island of Ooa- 422
hooga, or Jefferson's island. They are larger, more spendid, and highly ornamented, but the construction is the same, and like them they are furnished with outriggers. They are about fifty feet in length, two in width, and of a proportionate depth; they are formed of many pieces, and each piece, and indeed each paddle, has its separate proprietor. To one belongs the piece projecting from the stern, to another the part forming the bow. The pieces forming the sides belong to different persons, and when a canoe is taken to pieces, the whole is scattered throughout the

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501 valley, and divided, perhaps, among twenty families. Each has
422 the right of disposing of the part belonging to him, and when she is to be set up, every one brings his piece, with materials for securing it. The setting up a war canoe goes on with the same order and regularity as all their other operations. These canoes are owned only among the wealthy and respectable families, and are rarely used for the purposes of war or for pleasure, or when the chief persons of one tribe make a visit to another. In such cases they are richly ornamented with locks of human hair intermixed with bunches of gray beard, strung from the stem projection to the place raised for the steersman. These ornaments are in the greatest estimation among them, and a bunch of gray beard is in their view what the feathers of the ostrich, or heron, or the richest plumage would be in ours. The seat of the coxswain is highly ornamented with palm leaves and white cloth; he is gaily dressed and richly ornamented with plumes.
502 The chief is seated on an elevation in the middle of the canoe, and a person fancifully dressed in the bow, which has the additional ornaments of pearl-shells strung on cocoa-nut branches raised in the forepart of the canoe. She is worked altogether by paddles, and those who use them are placed, two on a seat, and give their strokes with great regularity, shouting occasionally to regulate the time and encourage one another. These vessels, when collected in a fleet and in motion, with all their rowers exerting themselves, have a splendid and warlike appearance. They were paraded repeatedly for my inspection, and in all the reviews they appeared greatly to pride themselves on the beauty and splendour of their men of war. They are not, however, so fleet as might be expected, as our whale boats could beat them with great ease.

501 Their fishing canoes are vessels of a larger and fuller con-
226 struction, many of them being six feet in width, and of an equal depth. They are managed with paddles more resembling an oar, and are, in some measure, used as such, but in a perpendicular position, the fulcrum resting on the outriggers projecting from each side. With those they proceed to the small bays on the coast, where they fish with the scoop net, and with the hook and line. They have also smaller canoes, which
501 are commonly nothing more than the hollow keels of the large ones, after the upper works are taken off; these are furnished with outriggers, and are used for fishing about the harbour. The canoes used for the purpose of navigating from one island to another, a navigation very common, are similar in their construction to the larger kind of fishing canoes, and are secured two together by beams lashed across. These are called double canoes, and are furnished with a triangular sail made of a mat, simi-

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

396 501 practise, which involved much unnecessary labor, is given by Porter (49, pp. 101-102). He says:

[422] Each piece, and indeed each paddle has its separate proprietor. To one belongs the piece projecting from the stern, to another the part forming the bow. The pieces forming the sides belong to different persons and when a canoe is taken to pieces, the whole is scattered throughout the valley and divided, perhaps, among twenty families. Each has the right of disposing of the part belonging to him, and when it is to be set up each brings his piece with materials for securing it. The setting up of a war canoe goes on with the same order and regularity as all their other operations.

Mention of this curious system of ownership is also made by Desgraz (15, pp. 281-282) but as his book appears to be a little more than a compilation from earlier sources, this can hardly be taken as a verification.

It seems certain that there must have been a definite order in which the various sections were placed in position, but no exact information was obtained on this point. The structure of the canoes, however, partially indicates the following sequence:

The first step must have been to arrange the pads which took the place of caulking between structures or sections. There were four of these, two being placed along the sides of the underbody and one at either end. The side pads consisted of two thick flat ropes, of the same length as the underbody, each of which was plaited from three strands of coconut husk fiber. Cellular tissue of the husk was left adhering to this fiber, probably with the idea of filling the interstices and making the finished seam more nearly water tight. These ropes were laid along either edge of the underbody, being held in position by continuous bark strings which fastened them to the underbody at each lashing hole. The end pads were made from a number of the fiberous leaf sheaths of the coconut which were spread out flat with their upper ends resting on the top of the underbody and their lower ends bending down over its flat vertical bow and stern. They do not seem to have been attached to the underbody in any way.

The next step was to place the bow and stern pieces in position, and then the side planks. Whether the bow and stern pieces were attached before the side planks were put on is uncertain, but it seems probable that the whole superstructure was lashed to the underbody in a single continuous operation. In the models the lashing of each side is done with a single continuous line, beginning at the bow.

[284] The lashings were of broad three-plait coconut fiber cord considerably heavier than that used for house lashings. This was passed several times through the upper and lower lashing holes, outside of the strips, the outer side of the lashing being flat, the full width of the hole, and only one cord thick. According to one informant a large wooden needle, with the point barbed on one side was used to facilitate passing the cord in and out. (See section on Miscellaneous Tools.) The upper ends of the side planks were attached to the bow and stern pieces by small lashings, each of a single piece of cord tied on the inside. The inside lashings are said to have been ornamented on some canoes with designs derived from string figures.

CAULKING

501 396 314 [237] The lashings of the underbody and superstructure did not completely fill the triangular holes provided for them, and the openings were caulked with pieces of coconut husk wadded up and beaten in with a wooden mallet and pointed stick. (See section on Miscellaneous Tools.) The seams at the ends of the canoe were calked with feathers, beaten in. [48]

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
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specialized in particular occupations, such as canoe making or carving. The products were distributed by means of a thoroughly organized trade in the form of social visits with gift exchanges. A tribe specializing in yellow dye would arrive with canoe-loads of the stuff. These expeditions were led by the chief, who was accompanied by perhaps one hundred men. They would start with a formal social gathering, during which sexual hospitality was usually extended to the visitors. Then the cargoes were presented. No mention was made of payment, but just before the visitors left, they would suggest indirectly that there was a shortage of a certain commodity in their tribe. Their hosts would then beg them to accept of their surplus of this commodity. The exchange was carried on with mutual benefit but no attempt to drive a shrewd bargain. Although a few objects might be brought for personal trade, the main load of the tribe's specialty was owned by the chief, and private individuals could not use any of it for trade purposes. Trade was organized by the chief, but at the close of the transaction, the goods would be prorated to all members of the tribe. Individual surpluses were exchanged on a quite similar basis, care being taken to eliminate the profit motive in all cases. These trade visits were still going on while I was in the Marquesas, although they had become of little importance.

Imperishable property, such as weapons, carvings, tools, and ornaments, was constantly changing hands, but the objects retained their names and individuality in the transfer. Gift exchange was as essential to social prestige as the giving of feasts. There is no question that, by primitive standards, the Marquesans were a wealthy group. All the early explorers made mention of the great number of things they had in their houses, rows of weapons, carved bowls, mats, etc. The explanation lies in the fact that they had a great deal of leisure, which they employed in making things. These articles were accumulated and handed down.

The Marquesans had a high standard of comfort. Their beds were the most luxurious to be found in the South Seas. The